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LECTURE

ON THE

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LIBERTY OF CHARACTER

OF THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE.



WRITTEN BY JOSEPH TURNER.



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SAN FRANCISCO.

1873.

LECTURE

ON THE

NATIONAL MERITS OF LIBERTY OF CHARACTER OF THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHEREBY WE MAY HAIL THE AGE AS ALREADY COME, TO BE HEARD AS THE PROUDEST EXCLAMATION OF MAN, "I AM AN AMERICAN."

This is a subject which cost America her statesmen, her orators, her philosophers, her generals, and her soldiers, all they were worth to gain it, and deserves the attention of every man in the nation, as it is a national subject, and a statesman's topic of the highest order of intellectual ability; the merits of which awoke the first American orator, Patrick Henry; whose voice on the platform awoke the people of his country, and set them in a blaze of fire to see clearly. At that time, they were but a broom behind the door of the Government of Great Britain, and after begging for ten years to be something more than a live broom or slave, may we suppose England gave us our freedom, our doors, our land, and the chair with the seat of Government. Did the South give the Negroes their freedom? The answer is, No. Neither did England give Americans their liberty, or there would be no merits to speak of. Their liberty arose to a question of war with England, where the voice of Henry was heard, who told them unless they meant to remain as slaves till they were transformed into beasts they must fight.

"I repeat it, sir, we must fight." An appeal to arms and the God of Hosts is all that is left us. And in accordance with the truth of his words, America is not without her contest in the battle-fields of war for her rights and her liberty, and has experienced fight after fight, and victory after victory, till she has at last reached that summit of rest to overlook the world around in peace and liberty, among the leading nations of the earth; and I will endeavor to point out some of the great men of the world, whose coming seems to have much to do in shaping the character and destiny of America, as well as those who had the building and framing of the constitution and government of the nation, its life and perpetuation. Once in a great period of time the world has seen, here and there, a few great men, who seem to be born in due time, and destined to move and change the character of man and nations, through their discoveries and inventions, and the works or labors of their studies, by which the laws of the nature of man and things are governed and controlled. Through the vital moving principles of these laws and discoveries when brought out, formed into use, and put in motion for its purposes, nations and governments as far back as history relates, established and built upon the partial character of the laws of the kings and queens of tyranny, supported by the controlling power of gold or silver have fallen; changing, moulder-
ing, and fast crumbling to dust. New nations have arisen, new governments have been established and built up, platforms of character among divisions of people, after the order of tyranny and slavery have been overwhelmed and rooted out; new laws and amendments have been administered and supported in its place after their enlightened order, through the merits of education, now cultivated, and fast acquiring, in the great masses of the people of our country, the offspring and issues, where these great events and changes have taken place, as fast as the spirit of progression and the appointed time approached us, through the coming of these great men. Consider the world before the coming of Pope, Bacon and Locke, who aroused and awakened the human understanding with their essays and treatise on government,

education, and the rights of man, which moved the world of humanity to live and move with each man's and each nation's own rights. And they left such well-written works, such sun-like thoughts and verses, to balance and guide the human intellect for the advancement of civilization, as was never seen before. The commander of an army may, with a line of eight words, fasten and balance his officers and soldiers to stand their ground in the battle-fields of war, so that they would rather be cut to pieces and fall with the sword than to surrender. Washington's words were "Hang together, or we will all hang separately." If this was not enough to make a man see the rope and the beheading block, about a century ago, then nothing would. The commander of a ship may, by experience, learn to balance a ship, and his men to stand the storm and the tempest in sailing over the waves and waters of the ocean; but where is the commander, the philosopher, or writer, that can balance the spirit and temper of the hasty, erring mind of man, in sailing over the waves and struggles of life, equal to Alexander Pope? In his well known verse,

A little learning is a dangerous thing;
 Drink deep or taste not the pierian spring.
Their shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
 But drinking largely sobers us again.

Greater lines than these you may have seen, but a more useful verse than this I have not seen. Consider the world before the coming of Galileo, Herschell and Newton. Who saw further than any before him; whose name in history stands foremost among the greatest minds of the human race; who, through one single discovery, moved the world of humanity, by finding out how the world moved. That it was not a plain or flat surface resting on something solid, as formerly supposed, but a round ball or sphere, moving and revolving perpetually in its pathway with all the other spheres of the universe. And as plain as the morning sun breaks away the darkness of the night, so the knowledge and coming of this man dispersed the cloud and darkness from before the eyes of an astonished world. Consider the people before the cir-

ulation of the newspaper and all the inventions of the press and printing, which was not long before the coming of two of the latest of our world's great men—Morse and Franklin—whose name is enrolled foremost among the American men of progress, and lives as the father of the arts and sciences of America; who, through one single invention—the lightning-rod—when brought out, fixed, and set in motion by Morse, the telegraph suddenly moved and controlled the world through the influence of will, as it never was before. These great men, with their thoughts and their writings, their discoveries and inventions of matters and things, are the lamps of light who guide and support the feet of our leading statesmen ; the most profound orators, the greatest generals, the bravest soldiers and defenders of our country, which has grown and become the great national field or part of the world, with all the natural advantages in relation to commercial and intellectual communication with the enlightened nations, where one great body of people live, move, and revolve around each and every individual with inalienable rights of freedom and liberty, under one true character of government, in accordance with the laws of life and the supreme character and order of the universe; and, through the conversation, intelligence, experience, and deeds of stability and enterprise in the education and established principles of the people, either in war or in peace, all tend to prove the majority reason, and conform to the greatest truth for the greatest cause, which achieves to strengthen and build up the character of the constitution and government of their country, with its controlling influences to keep step by step with the age and generation of the times. You may boast of a nation's wealth; of her giant strength and population; of intelligence; of her splendid attitude and proportions of size; of her grand, extensive harbors; of her great commercial fleets of ships, with all her privileges and advantages; of the magnificent structures and architecture of her buildings and cities; of her agriculture—works with all her premiums of machinery inventions; of her fine railroads and canals, circulating and passing over the hills and plains, mountains and

valleys of her rich lands, with an abundance of grass, covered with fat cattle and a plentiful harvest, with all her vast productions of nature, as far as the eye or mind can perceive in the arts and science of man; with all her resources; with her strong navy and powerful fortifications combined, she may yet stand in doubtful and terminable circumstances, for all these are only the means of her support or existence for a period, while the grand secret of success in the life and strength of man and nations is treasured and remembered in the honor and order of their just and most truthful character. The railroad and the stage-road, with their lightning protecting messenger, the telegraph, going side by side, which now embraces the civilized world, joining state to state, city to city, and nation to nation, from shore to shore; making the hills and mountains level, and in like manner turning the seas and waters of the great deep into dry land, so that the matter passes through among the fishes, the same as with the birds in the open air, before the eyes of intelligent and reasonable people that nothing but a man or nation of truth and honor will be recognized with much of any respect or attention; for all these support character, which is the vital principle of life. And through the threads of life of Washington and Lincoln, our deliverer and martyr, and the never to be forgotten Jackson, with the eloquence and knowledge of our great statesmen and orators, who drank deep in learning, we may illustrate the national merits of liberty of character of the constitution and government of the American people; Washington and Lincoln being the two great national principals of freedom and liberty through the American wars. One, the founder and builder of the constitution and government of his country, through the revolutionary war with England; the other, the vital moving part in the life and perpetuation of the nation through the war of the rebellion, in the extermination of slavery, which had been so stinging and poisoning the life's blood from the center of the heart and character of the nation, till the war between the Northern and Southern States, which proved the triumphant death and decision of the great national question of slavery and

misery of our country, of which they were relieved through the administration of Abraham Lincoln, the great Republican, martyred President; him, who saw clearly by way of truth and reason, that liberty of character, and not slavery and money, to be the standard, the vital moving part and the greatest controlling power in the life of man and nations; so that they could neither honorably demand nor control their country's rights with the civilized nations, without a character of the truest order of man's individual and national rights, which could not be gained but by paying the strictest attention to the rights of man in each and every state and portion of the Union. Against these rights were thirteen Southern States, with a platform of character of slavery or despotism; the love of wealth or money gained by the in-human love of human property or slavery. Averse to truth and reason and all humanity, they arose prepared, and provoked a contest with a blow to the Northern States for a division line, for which they arrayed themselves, with the sword, the cannon, and all the implements of war, to fight against the twin brother of the great deliverer of their country whose eyes had been long closed in death, his breath and his voice hushed and silenced in the darkness of the grave; who was the standard of liberty, the emblem of America; the edge and point of whose sword, about a century before, cut the fetters and bonds of tyranny, marked and established the division lines between his country and one of the strongest and most powerful nations of war that ever crossed the waters of our boundaries, for the oneness of these boundary lines and the oneness of the emblem of liberty, the standard and character of our nation and country. Him, Abraham Lincoln, sane and well, knew the appointed time of his destiny had come, either to save or to lose, to divide or not to divide, to surrender or not to surrender to the Southern States for one of the basest and most abominable evils or curses ever entailed on the mind and character of man and nations. And tyranny or slavery for the love of money is evidently the cause of all the great wars and bloodshed ever recorded in the oldest history of the world to the present

time, the truth of which awakened and stirred the spirit and mind of our ruler and administrator, to weigh the world and the leading nations. He saw they balanced in his favor, with the greatest truth for the greatest cause—which is liberty and not slavery. He who also weighed the influence of his own name in his own country on the side of the Northern States. He well knew from a child and from early manhood he had been called the name of Honest Abe, and as he slowly reached the years of experience and knowledge, which matured his judgment and understanding, by which he aimed and gained the position and the controlling power to the ascension of the chair where, as the chief magistrate of the laws of our land, he was considered a man of truth; and in relation to all cases and great national questions of the law and character of the people, which was brought before him, his judgment and understanding was able to penetrate to the truth of the matter, even if it were hidden in the darkest corner of the earth, as he oftentimes brought it to light before the eyes and hearing of the most distinguished and astonished judges, jurymen, and the ablest statesman and orators ever assembled in the Senate Chamber or court-house of the American people. But he was not a general or a warrior, for he never grasped the sword to cut his way through the battle-fields of war, like him the spectacle of whose face alone was victory to an army, and the language of his words was unflinching, forward, conquering, and to conquer; the rope, the footstool, and the beheading block of the kings and queens of tyranny; who, through the influence of his own name, through the influences of all his forces, through the influence of the roar of his cannon and all the implements of war, through the influence of the mighty terror of all his master victories, made that lion nation—the mistress of the seas—stop and consider. They were fighting with a dangerous and an unconquerable defender of manhood, justice and liberty; and through the generalship of a noble and manly warrior, with his thread of men, British officer's and England's soldiers saw more than they ever saw before, and feared more than they ever feared before; and he was not

the only one they feared, for a report from a British officer which resounded across the water, in his own words to England, that Green was as dangerous as Washington, and they quailed, yielded, and surrendered the land of freedom to the care and consignment of the illustrious champion of liberty, the Washington of America—the first and greatest of Americans who saw clearly, by way of truth and reason, that liberty of character, and not tyranny or money, to be the standard, the vital moving part, and the greatest controlling power in the life of man and nations; whose national mind of sense was able to measure the length, breadth, and depth of the vital principles of the great truths laid down in the foundation and basis of the written instrument which first formed, framed, and established the constitution and government of his country. Which, after having affixed the signature of his name and the seal of government, passed the house of Congress, and on the fourth day of July, 1776, was recognized and commemorated as the declaration of the independence of America. The merits for which they fought, and the emblem of liberty—the eagle flag of stars and stripes—representing the character of a new nation and a new government, waved for the first time in the great republic of our country, before the eyes of an astonished and overjoyed people, who unanimously elected their leader as the standard of its support for two terms, and after having seen it raised every fourth day of July for eight years, resigned his position to others, with the honor of being the first president of his country; with the honor of defending and gaining his country's rights and securing their national independence and liberty; with the honor of being the founder and builder of a new nation and a new government, for which the signature of his name was side by side with the leading statesmen and standard-bearers, Adams, Jefferson, and others, in the great diplomatic deed or Declaration of Independence, securing and entitling him and our government to the land of America throughout all its boundary lines, for which the flag of liberty waved in triumph to the honor and immortal name of Washington.

There is yet another very great honor which so much im-

mortalizes the name of Washington, that will have its controlling influences throughout all ages till wars shall cease and time shall be no more: that is, the honor with which he bequeathed his sword to the heirs before he died, which he wore in the war for liberty, never to be drawn from the scabbard unless in self-defense, or in defense of their country and her freedom, and in command, when thus drawn, never to sheathe it nor ever give it up, but prefer falling with it in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

Lord Brougham, in his speech on the consummate glory of Washington, said words the majesty and simple eloquence of which was not unsurpassed in the oratory of Athens and Rome. In accordance with this command, the sword would never be drawn. Mind would be the standard of man and nations, alone of itself, without the assistance of the body or muscular part, so that the flesh would not be cut or bruised nor a bone broken. The matter would be made straight in the chair-room and not in the battle-field. But the world has not yet got so far along as that. But our generals and leaders paid attention to his command, and followed his footsteps, as near as possible, as was afterwards seen, for England was not quite satisfied till the center of her heart was pierced by the sword of Hickory Jackson, with his thread of men, at the battle of New Orleans, where heaps upon heaps fell with a victorious slaughter till he twisted and turned the lamentable remaining fleet of the choicest army of England, whereby she learned to pay attention to the rights of the people of his country, and through the merits of the truth of liberty, balanced the character of his nation's manhood while he lived; and the sword was sheathed with the honor of defending and supporting a nation's rights and securing a decided treaty of peace between the two nations—the only purpose for which it was drawn, and for which the flag of liberty waved in triumph through the honor and immortal name of the never to be forgotten hero of liberty, the Jackson of America. But the ignoble counterfeit platform of tyranny and slavery was again spreading in the land of freedom, till it covered a space of over one-third the number of States in

the Union, when, through the giant strides of the American slave-holder, the flag of liberty was in danger of being cut down and trampled under foot, to wave no more as the life and light of the nation. But his Excellency, Lincoln, who then held the ruling power at the capital—the seat of government, where a man of truth or eagle spirit is chosen every four years to sit, to rule the universal American nation and guide their flag of stars and stripes—had already said in his patriotic speech in early manhood, that he would suffer chains in bonds and in death before slavery should trample it ; and in size, in form, and in stature, in the force and truth of his words, was equal to the champion of liberty before him ; and in spirit of mind, nobleness of nature, and love of country, was the marked impression in the features of his countenance that the truth of his ambition was in the liberty and oneness of the character of his nation. Strong and vigorous both in body and mind, through the labor of his own hands, for it is well known in early life, if he never grasped the sword, he used and sharpened his own ax, cut and split his own rails, and you may judge they were full-sized ones, for he could not believe in pieces or halves of either rails or nations; and the implements of his labors was held with a true and honest hand, and his course was steered with a good eye. Although he may have climbed the rough and rocky side of the ascension, he saw brighter things than many who travel the smooth way, and by all who saw or felt the edge of his mind, in mowing his swath in the political field of his labors, were many times sharpened by the truth of his words, and through the influence of will, evinced and fixed by the lamp of his experience, with a confidence to believe that his course was right, and that the line of his direction was as straight and just to protect their country's rights as him who gained it for them. This gave him confidence that the people of the Northern States would fight together under his guidance and amendments for liberty or death, to save or protect their country's rights, encircling all its boundary lines, and as the blow was already struck at Fort Sumter, the flesh and blood of the Northern States was awakened and on fire,

so that the bone and muscle of the people on both sides was aroused to their full strength for the fight and the mastery of liberty or slavery, for which our ruler stood his ground.

Measures had been adopted in all forms to loosen the bonds without fighting, but he seemed destined to call out the volunteers and defenders of our country, with the sword, the cannon, and all the implements of war now on the throne of self-defense, to change the brute-like platform of the Southern States to the standard and character of their nation and country, by taking away the sting of slavery, which is equal to the sting of death—from the center of the heart of a ruinous, nationless race of Negroes, so that the people which now compose and control the great, powerful, progressive and influential nation of America are living under a higher and nobler order of intellectual, national influence of character than they ever lived before, the merits of which will prove most truthfully to themselves, and honorably gain the influence and respect of the most enlightened nations of the world, with a confidence which they never saw so clearly before since the birthday of their eagle flag of stars and stripes, which he guided and supported through the rebellion till the stains and tortures of the sting of slavery were no longer seen or felt. As the North stood with him till the great national question of slavery was written and decided in his Emancipation Proclamation as it never was before, a question which brought out the talent and ability of the ablest statesmen, and passed the spirit and power of the oratorical eloquence of the Webster of America, the truth of whose words was enough to make the flesh and blood of Southern manhood sweat, so that their bodies steamed like the vapor that pass between the earth and the sun, till they allowed the ground on which they stood to yield the fruits of free labors, tilled and worked with the rights of man, in accordance with the laws and examples of a progressive age. But no; tyranny would rather die a slave to the implements of war and see a nation drowned in blood before they would yield to the laws and amendments of progression, which is governed and controlled through the merits of education, founded

upon one great truth or basis of the character of the laws of human nature and equality of the vital principles of honor, justice, and liberty, for which, with sword in hand, the great Republic of the North moved on in the battle-fields of war, supported by the same truth which supported them once before in the revolutionary war with England, which was the truth of the examples of the laws of progression that fell from the lips of Patrick Henry, the forest-born Demosthenes of America, the only man I ever heard of that was carried out of the court-house for his eloquence; for such was his eloquence in searching the truth in his famous law case when, he pleaded against the parsons, that some of the assembly carried him out of the house on their shoulders; and when they carried out that man, I claim they carried out one-third of the constitution and government of their country, because it is well known that were it not for the sword of Washington, the eloquence of Henry, and the pen of Payne, America would have been lost; and such was his eloquence in the speech of his learning and experience before the people of his country for their cause and their liberty. Ceasar had his Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and let George the Third profit by their examples, and the truth of a few words in another speech, "Give me liberty or give me death," which awakened them to their cause, their rights, and their country. But George the Third was like all other tyrants before him; never profited in anything but by the sword, with which he was determined to prove the manhood and liberty of America, and after the works of war had commenced, with sword in hand, hear the words of our deliverer and their leader, "Hang together, or we will all hang separately;" the truth of which nerved every man's arm in the country with the strength that fastened his hand with a grip to the sword to follow him for liberty or death; who saw plainly he held his own sword with his rights to his will and his heart in his right hand, with a determined grip, never, never, never to loosen his hold in protecting his country's rights, till he gained his nation's freedom; the independence and liberty of the American people. This is the same truth

which supported the Northern people to fight the Southern people, who had been living and controlling the Negroes to work for them, till their hearts were harder than stone and their heads became as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal, for they erringly tinkled and breathed to England to assist them divide, who had wisely loosened the bonds of slavery in all her dominions a little before, by which she saw and well knew the truth of our cause, our liberty, and our country, balanced in favor with the leading nations and through one powerful invention, the telegraph, which was fast controlling the world through the influence of will, in changing the character of man and nations, in turning their attention to the just standard of the law and the rights of man, and through the influence of the name of Morse, the inventor, who having received, a few years before, such great honors and presents from those nations, and a collective testimonial of four hundred thousand francs, which must have deeply and respectfully united America in heart and hand with them ; so that the voice of freedom and liberty was echoing and reaching from the center of the heart of many nations, which secretly, but strongly and surely bound and fastened that powerful nation to stay at home and mind her own business as all the other nations most honorably done so when the Southern people saw this, that their slavery was digging for them a dishonorable grave and an empty principle from whence no honorable man or nation ever recognized or offered them assistance; they began to see their land of cotton was looked upon as the last white man's slave-field or dunghill of the world, where the slaves and their slaveholders were buried together, the region of darkness overshadowed by the sting of death and slavery, from whence there was no ray of light to see to inscribe the name on the tombstone of their dead, for better remain uncarved than be written under the ignoble character of slavery, that would read below the beasts of the field, which turned their eyes and their faces to our freedom and liberty and the merits and principles in the motto of their country. Our national resources are developed by an earnest culture of the arts of

peace for which they began to breathe; and the great commander-in-chief of all the Southern armies, General Lee, surrendered, gave up the sword, laid down their arms to the national merits of liberty of character of the constitution and government of the American people, gained and established by him whose name is ever remembered and treasured in the patriot hearts of heroic generals and soldiers of the Northern armies called out and guided through the spirit and mind of the nation's lamented martyr, the Lincoln of America. When the truth, in the lines of his Emancipation Proclamation, with all its powerful language of equity, justice, and liberty to that nationless, bondaged race, took its place as a law in the standard of liberty, the constitutiion and government of the United States ; and in a few days when the nation was breathing for rest, and sighing for peace, and all the implements of war were laid down, and the armies on both sides were returning to their homes with the knowledge and understanding that the last battle gun was fired ; on the eventful evening of April 14th, 1865, when the people from the capitol were assembled together in one of the theatres of life, when the house was filled with mirth, as the actors were on the stage, lo, a sound as the lights went out, which awoke the angel of death, that spread his wings on the blast and breathed in the face of the foe, as he passed in the stealth of night with a pistol in his hand. The shot was fatal for the words which fell from the lips of the dying man, "I am no more," proved in a few hours that Abraham Lincoln was no longer among the living; the thread of life was cut; his course was run; the fight was over, of which his death was to balance the victory. I will now give you a verse to his memory, the best my pen can afford.

And he stood for the Union till a martyr he fell,
 That the truth of his ambition forever may wave;
 In the emblem of liberty for which they fought well,
 As the life and the light of the nation to save.

And the nation was shocked, as the implements of war were already laid down, and the sword was sheathed, with the honor of defending, supporting, and restoring a nation's

rights and her just merits of liberty of character; the only purpose for which it was drawn, and for which he fell a martyr; and the feelings of the people who witnessed the death and burial of the departed spirit of this man were rent in twain, from the highest to the lowest, for they saw plainly that his ambition blended with their ambition and waved with his nation's emblem, which is a representation of the greatest national honor to his character that he was the vital moving part of its retrieved perpetuation, for it waves as it never waved before, with freedom and liberty to every one throughout all our boundary lines, and stands as the victory over the sting of slavery, death, and the grave, of one of the greatest political martyrs ever recorded in the history of the world, who left his nation and his country living and glowing with the spirit and ambition of his and our deliverer's honor, justice, and liberty to all posterity before the eyes of an enlightened world, for which the immortal name of Abraham Lincoln will be remembered with a remembrance that will live and circulate from man to man, from nation to nation, as long as the flag of stars and stripes shall wave truly and ambitiously to the standard of liberty, with the strictest attention to the rights of man and the rights of nations ; for is not the rights of man and nations the bread of life to the flesh and blood of man and nations, and is not the truth of liberty the breath of life to the vital moving part in the centre of the heart or mind of man and nations? As is food or bread to the sharpness of him that is starving with hunger, and as is water to the parched tongue of him that can scarcely breathe, who is famishing with thirst, so in like manner is freedom and liberty to the center of the heart or mind of man and nations. For these rights and the wrongs of slavery our nation was long divided against itself, and as no man or nation ever gained an honorable end by dishonorable means, slavery being one of the meanest, the most despicable, and utterly the most ruinous for its tyrant examples to the mind and character of man and nations, had to be cut out with a great war and a great slaughter amongst ourselves, while freedom and

liberty, with our cause and our country, lives, and eight years has been added to the nineteenth century of the new Christian era since the world first witnessed the downfall and overthrow of slavery in the great visionary part of the Southern people of our country, where the bread of slavery is no longer eaten and the voice and the rod of the slaveholder's tyranny, and the cry of the slave for his liberty is seen and heard no more. But why were they to be fought out of their slavery? Why was the bonds of slavery to be loosened? Why was the weight of the American slaveholder to be removed from the back of the black man, upon which they had been so long resting? They bought them and claimed a right to them, but there was a time to buy and a time to give liberty, and since the coming of Newton, who loosened the world from its resting-place, and set it moving and revolving with harmonious liberty with all the other spheres of the universe; since the date of that discovery, together with the discoveries and writings of other men, the bonds of tyranny and the weight of one man upon another have been cutting and loosening throughout the leading nations. Consider the writings and influences of such immeasurable minds and gifts of nature as Milton, Shakespeare, Burns, or Byron. Think of the heartrending impression of only one line from Burns: "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless millions mourn." Would not the truth of these words awaken and set fire the heart and mind of those statesmen and orators who held the position and such controlling power of government as Pitt, Chatham, Brougham, or Palmerston, of England, who stood in that nation much the same as Henry, Hamilton, Clay, or Webster, in America, and from Pitt to Palmerston the bonds of slavery was loosened throughout the dominions of that kingdom, and tyranny of character and the inhuman taxation and oppression to the mother's home of the American Irish have changed so that Ireland to-day is much the same as England. But it seems that a part of the Irish heart or mind beats and breathes for a little more than this. It has been repeated, are they never to be any more than a West Briton? That is, are they never to be a nation, so that such men as Daniel O'Connell may be the standard of their own laws and their own government. And when he had said his say, it would be as much for Ireland as Brougham's was for England, or Webster's for America. But, we may ask, what is the difference to constitute one-third of a great nation, or to stand alone as a small one-man nation? But little or no difference if the government is founded upon a basis of equality and

liberty, so that one be not the lords and masters, and the other the slave or workingman. It is well for the working-man that England had a Brougham, for Brougham said much for England and much for humanity, the merits of education and science; and his speech on the character of Washington is a consideration of the ability and respect of one of England's greatest and most distinguished statesmen and orators, who drank deep in learning and knowledge, whereby he understood the laws of nature of government and the rights of man and nations, so that I think he must have seen a bright view of the national merits of liberty of character of the constitution and government of the American people, whose voice and his eloquence once resounded across the land with all its powerful influences of equity and justice; and Brougham is the orator who never came and went before us without leaving his speech for our Washington, and the consummate glory in the liberty of his character; and he well knew the truth and the light which guided and supported the feet of that man for his rights and his liberty is the same truth and the spirit which supports every law of nature and every motion and action of manhood's intellect, for which he will be remembered with a remembrance that will live on an eminence with the mind, intelligence, and voice of Webster, who said much for America and much for humanity, the merits of education, the union and liberty, and drank deep in the truth of liberty of learning and knowledge, so that he understood the laws of life of government and the rights of man and nations, and stood in his own nation at the head of the government, when the people of the Southern States was looked upon with the last White Man's platform of slavery and despotism. And when side by side lived the American and the American slaveholder, and although he crushed and ground to powder the supposed unanswerable bills of the two great Southern leaders, Calhoun and Haynes, yet they turned their faces against the eloquence of their noblest statesman, and refused to give the Black Man his liberty; although he could not break the bonds of slavery asunder, he prepared the way for its overthrow as though he prepared it not, and balanced the character of his nation's rights and her liberties while he lived, which may be seen from his giant speech on one of his master topics; the contributions of America to Europe, or the action and influence of the new world upon the old, supporting all he said by pointing to the head of the nation, Washington. If American institutions had done nothing else, the character of Washington alone would have entitled them to the respect

of mankind. He claimed him for America—not for the Northern States, but for America. Of all that I have seen, this was Webster's greatest speech, and the one by which he framed, and carved, and made his mark for his country and himself, and stands as one of the greatest lights for the guidance and respect of a nation's character, to be found in the English language. He pointed clearly that the great current wave and its impulse in all the moving and revolving transactions of man to man, and government to government, must be balanced and supported by the same truth and spirit which supported the feet of Washington. And to stop the spirit and power of the American people in defense of their country and her freedom, you may as well try to stop the world from moving and turn it backwards; her march is onward, her character is firmly shaped, and the union for liberty is bound to grow stronger and stronger.

For every thinking man, black or white, in the nation,
Is bound to think deeper and deeper through the merits of education;
Till they all drink deep in Webster's master topics and Pope's essays,
Which supports the rights of man, the union, and liberty.

But before reaching the truth of my experience in answering the question of my subject, I must first speak of the coming of two of the latest of our nation's great men—Morse and Franklin, who brought with them the lightning and the telegraph, which is one of the greatest controlling powers of the world for the support and reform of character; its use and purpose now concerns the interest and welfare, in the protection of life and property, of every individual, person and child throughout the civilized nations. It has overtaken the thief, the robber, and murderer, fastened, chained, and bound him, hand and foot, without touching him, and without harming a hair of his head, so that in no part or corner of the earth can he hide himself without "Stop thief!" or, "Stop murderer!" gets there long before he does. In the black and dark night it has made him stop and consider his ways, and through the influence of will, fastened and stayed every nerve from propelling his foot to take a wrong step and his hand from doing a wrong act or deed. He sees and knows that the world is comparatively possessed with two nervous, transacting, electric systems—an inward nervous, electric system of man, and an outward nervous, electric system of wires, on which thought and matter of all that transpires, circulates with lightning rapidity from place to place; which controls him to mind his own business and leave other people's alone, and if he means to get his own living independ-

ently as his own master, outside of the jail or prison, he must gain it honestly through the influence of his own name.

Among all the many and important influences which relate to the interest or welfare of man, whether it be the influence of wealth or money, of education or ability, of friends or relations, of society, of state or national, there is none which strikes the very center of the heart or mind so forcibly and with so much inestimable value as the influence or reputation of a man's own name for his character. It is the foundation and basis of a man's success in any station or position in life, from the laboring man to the business farmer; from the merchant to the lawyer; the statesman and the greatest general or philosopher the world ever saw, for the influence of a man's name behind his back, or in circulation around him, is stronger and more powerful than the man himself, the means or money either to establish or to destroy him.

When the world first witnessed the invention of the telegraph, its use and invaluable worth to all humanity, the influence of the name of Morse must have been like a two-edged sword, that cut both ways, and if the name of Washington entitled us to the respect of mankind, the name of Morse and Franklin has gained and will firmly hold it as long as the lightning circulates on the wires, for this was a deed and an invention to the world which pierced the center of the heart of man and nations so successfully that the power of the truth of its worth and the great current wave of his learning and genius in circulation lit up the people into such a blaze of light that the fire of the impulse of life would have scorched them to death unless they had given him their presents and gifts of money, in order to be relieved of their feelings, and acknowledge the greatness of the invention and the remembrance of his coming from age to age. And I suppose no man in any age ever received so many presents and gifst of money as Morse. The knowledge and wisdom of Solomon astonished the people of his age; so they brought him all kinds of presents and gifts, for searching the truth and answering their questions; but no age ever saw or experienced such great inventions and discoveries of human knowledge for the advancement and pre-eminence of man as since the coming of Morse and Franklin, whose names will be remembered with a remembrance that will live for innumerable generations, long after their bodies withered and died. And the controlling influence of the telegraph, as well as other discoveries, had much to do in hastening the war and the overthrow of slavery. What could civilized nations say who was looking on and watching the fight, after

experiencing the circulation of the newspaper and all the merits and inventions of printing and steam-power, the discoveries and courses of the spheres, as they move and revolve around with harmonious liberty; and after fully experiencing the telegraph with all its startling and apprehensive impressions in changing the character of all classes of men, in speaking silently but plainly to the center of the heart of man—to be a man, an intelligent, thinking man; a man of truth, and not a liar, a thief, an animal, a brute, a tyrant, or a slave-holder; but as intelligent men and nations, who looked on and saw the fight—what could they say more than this? One world with all her nations; each nation with a nation's rights; each man with manhood's rights and manhood's voice of freedom and liberty. For this voice and these rights was the fetters and bonds of tyranny and slavery to be broken. For this voice and these rights was the coming of all the great men of the world, and the truth and light by which they saw all their thoughts and their writings, their discoveries and inventions, is the same truth and the light which guided and supported the feet of him who traveled the dangerous pathway of war till he saw the time and the destined place where he met the great commander-in-chief of all the British armies, face to face; to whom Cornwallis surrendered, and the fetters and bonds of the kings and queens of tyranny was broken, which proved the manhood and liberty of America. This is the same truth and the same spirit which guided and supported the feet of him who stood his ground against the chosen army of England, which was sent out a few years afterwards, as a double proof to the manhood and liberty of America. And no doubt England began to think with Paecingham, their commander, that Jackson was as dangerous as Washington, and that the spirit of Washington would never die, for the American Hickory was as good and tongh as England's oak. This is the same truth and spirit which sup ported the feet and voice of all our great statesmen and orators, from Henry to Webster and Seward, and the same truth and the same spirit which gnided and supported the feet of him who saw the time and the destined place where face to face was Lee's surrender, and the voice of the slave-holder's tyranny and the cry of the slave for his liberty was heard no more in America. This is the same truth and the same spirit which guided and supported the feet of him who stood as the life and perpetuation of the nation, till the night that shaped the end and the object of his coming, that we may see the truth and the light which supported the national merits of liberty of character of the constitution and govern-

ment of the American people, through all their fights and their elections, from age to age, and in unison with the truth and voice of the writer who said we may hail the age as not far distant when will be heard as the proudest exclamation of man, "I am an American!"

I say, we may hail the time as already come, for the American slaveholder is no more. Where is the boy but would rather hear his father called an American than a slaveholder? No smart boy, at ten years of age, unless it would be to sympathize with the old man in order to fool him, to save himself from a whipping; for the voice of manhood and the merits and principles in the truth of liberty of character is worth more to the boy than all the slaves or the money the old man was ever fought out of, or the national debt included. With all her fights, her debts, and her elections, I like America, because it is a self-made nation of a self-made people, where every man's success is in accordance with the influence of his own name and character; because it is a self-made government of our greatest intellectual men, elected by the people, by the voice and principle of every man in the nation, with equal rights of freedom and liberty of character; and as a man's heart is in his rights, his liberty, and character, the character of his nation and government will be in his heart, and either in war or in peace, every man's heart will be in his right hand, to defend and support it, which is the best evidence I can give and the surest foundation of a government's or a nation's strength and her just merits of liberty of character, and as the glory of a young nation was in her strength for her liberty and the rights of man, may the glory of an old nation be in the right of man and her liberty for her strength, and we can say, through the influence and character of our statesmen, our orators, our generals, and our soldiers, that George the Third, or rather Cornwallis, had his Washington; Packington had his Jackson; Lee had his Grant, and Davis had his Lincoln, and let the world profit by their examples.

I will endeavor to explain those examples to see in what way they may profit. The first one is a very straight one: that it is better to surrender to an honorable man for a just cause, and see the merits of that cause, all the great lessons, great examples, deeds, and inventions of a new nation and a new government supported by the rights of man and the truth of liberty, than for a tyrant to whip and never see nothing but a tyrant's cause, deeds, and examples. The language and character by which the sword of America was sheathed is one of the greatest examples or deeds

that the world ever saw. The second one may be explained this way: That it was better for the center of the heart of England to be pierced by the lamentable stories of those who returned from that terrible battle, and see clearly that the spirit of Washington would never die, and prove the merits of liberty of character, than to whip and never have a decided treaty of peace. The third one is rather hard and crooked. We may explain it this way: If a brother would fight a brother, to give a Negro his liberty, what would he do to give a brother or a White man his liberty? They would liberate him, and if a blow was struck for his refusal, they would fight and hang on to the fight with the toughness of hickory and the spirit of the old eagle, till the refusals or enemy were cornered and surrounded, with their supplies cut off, till their eyes and their faces looked one upon another for bread and water; the same as General Lee and his soldiers did just before they surrendered.

“And better for them to surrender who struck the first blow,
 That the emblems of liberty forever may wave
 O'er the bright, sunny South and the North with her snow,
 As the life and the light in the home of the brave.”

The fourth one may be explained this way: That it is better for a man to stand his ground and gain the fight to be one nation and one people, and fall a martyr for the flag of manhood's honor, than to live and see a tyrant's flag or a division line; that it is better to cry out with the last breath as the ball took his life, “I am no more!” and see America more than it ever was before, than to live and die or fall a prey to any less than the proud exclamation, “I am an American!” which proves that the truth and the spirit which supports the national merits of liberty of character is of the greatest truth and the greatest cause, and that there is no truth in tyranny and slavery, which must die. It also proves that the reasoning faculty, as the standard of truth and justice, is fast becoming the predominant or ruling power in the mind of man and nations. Pope said that self-love and reason was the two standard moving powers of the mind, and the Old World of kings and queens for a tyrant's cause. Selfishness for the love of money was the ruling power a century ago. England may have thought it pretty hard to be fought out of America, but half a century from that date, through the merits of freedom, they received a gift or deed in return, from Morse—the telegraph—which is worth more to them to-day than America would be without it, and as one good deed deserves another, the name of Morse to France is much the same as Lafayette's to America.

Had it been a Negro that made the invention, it would have been enough to entitle him to his freedom, and it ought to have gained it for them; but because they were never considered much account, only for what they could do with their hands, as slaves, they were bound to be kept so as long as they could, partly as an excuse because it was thought their backs could stand the warm sun a little better, without pay, than the White Man's. But who knows, within a period of half a century from the date of their freedom, but that some Negro, through the merits of education, may come out with as great an invention as the telegraph, which may entitle them to the respect of the White Man, for this seems to be the principal resource by which the White Man gained his, and the strides of intellect by which the Negro may expect to gain his. People are learning to move and value people for their mind and character, and not altogether by circumstances, money, or color. The statesmanship and coming of Lincoln moved the character and government of America two steps ahead at once, which was one step further than a great many could see at that time. To give the Negro his liberty, that step was just and right; but when the Fifteenth Amendment was first administered that the Negro was to have a vote and franchise, this was a little more than some were prepared for. They knew there was a great difference between the words slavery and liberty, but they never saw or knew the word liberty resembled the word equality so much before. But the majority have decided to think now that it is right for the Black Man to have a vote and franchise, and not be left as a broom behind the door of the government of our land of liberty, to be brushed around as an anti-citizen, without a vote to respect his rights or his name. Give a man his citizenship, and a vote, in a time of peace, will grant him a warranty deed to educate himself for the occasion, and the power and the will to make two men with the sword in a time of war, although there seems to be a few who talk about pure blood or pure color yet. But the question is, whether pure blood means pure gold or pure tyranny, or pure truth and pure liberty. Some are afraid they will be judged by a Negro, which looks like false pride. Far better to be judged by a Black Man with a white heart and a clear head of truth and justice, than a White Man with a black heart and a smiling face that would betray you for money.

Do not be deceived. Do not look altogether on the outward appearance or fine color of matters or things. Byron said, to be well dressed would oftentimes supersede the rest.

Do not be fooled, then, by standing half-way between the rich and well-dressed, overbearing moneyed men of the land and the great, equalizing, far-seeing statesmen and leading minds of the world, but live and rise first for truth and manhood's cause, and money afterward, or he that don't is bound to fall in the tyrant's or blind-man's cause, which has fallen to rise no more. The sword has done its work, and done it well, for America, and was sheathed again through the honor and generalship of the Grant of America, who stood in defense of his country and her freedom, in accordance with the bequeathed command, so that the flag of liberty, which he protected in war, and for which he was chosen chief magistrate for its guidance in peace, still waves triumphantly and gloriously for America and her kindred nations, so that no national debt can disturb her, no clime can separate her, and no power on the earth can disunite her; and when the people of the sunny South shall have eat the bread raised and made with the rights of man, and drank deep in the truth of liberty, they will hunger and thirst no longer for the slaves, nor the slavery of their forefathers, nor desire no longer for a division-line to separate the ground which raised the bread of slavery; but they will breathe, one and all, for free labor and liberty to every one throughout all our boundary lines, and most assuredly as the sun will rise and set, in other days and other times, with all its refreshing light and warmth to man and nature, when the black and dark cloud of the war will begin to move away, the truth and the light which supported the national merits of liberty of character of the constitution and government of the American people will be seen and known by the enlightened world throughout all her nations, throughout all her classes, throughout all her colors, and throughout all her different races of the human family.

JOSEPH TURNER.

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